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NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2499th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 18 November 1983, at 11.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Victor J. GAUCI (Malta).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2499)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16147);
   Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16150);
   Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16151)

The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16147);

Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16150);

Letter dated 15 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16151)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its 2497th and 2498th meetings, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Australia, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, India, Romania, Seychelles, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Haralambopoulos (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. Fonseka (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/16149, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Members have received photocopies of a letter dated 18 November 1983 from the representative of Sierra Leone, which will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/16162 at 0600 hours tomorrow.

3. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I have had the privilege of working closely with you on all important issues which have come before the Council and have greatly benefited from your widely acknowledged diplomatic skills, experience and statesmanship. We are confident that under your able guidance the Council will adopt wise decisions which would best serve the cause of international peace and stability. We have no doubt that your great experience and tested abilities will enable the Council to deal successfully with the momentous and sensitive developments in Cyprus which are now before it. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Abdullah Salah of Jordan, who guided the work of the Council with great distinction in difficult circumstances.

4. The situation in Cyprus during the past two decades has been a matter of deep concern and anxiety to my country. The extent of the concern felt by the Government of Pakistan in regard to the most recent developments in Cyprus is reflected in the following statement, which was issued in Islamabad yesterday. The statement reads:

> "The Government of Pakistan is following with close interest the developments in the wake of the unanimous declaration of the Turkish Cypriot Legislative Assem-

bly. In this context it may be recalled that Pakistan has consistently expressed its sympathy and support for the efforts of the brotherly Turkish Cypriot people to secure their just rights.

"The Government of Pakistan had hoped for the success of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. It noted with regret that the talks made little progress and that since the middle of this year these talks had not been held.

"Pakistan can well understand the frustration engendered by the systematic blocking of the efforts of the Turkish Cypriot community to find a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem within a federal partnership framework. It is noteworthy that in its recent declaration the Turkish Cypriot assembly has reiterated its willingness to continue the negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

"The Government of Pakistan calls upon the international community to appreciate the urgency of the problem and to encourage efforts for bringing about the resumption of the intercommunal negotiations with a view to its peaceful resolution. It is convinced that any attempt to isolate the Turkish Cypriot community would impede the realization of that objective."

5. The proclamation of an indepedent republic by the Turkish Cypriot leadership has a complicated and tragic background which must not be overlooked in assessing the recent dramatic turn of events in the island.

6. We listened with great attention yesterday to the statements made in the Council by the Foreign Ministers of Cyprus and Greece [*2497th meeting*] and by Mr. Rauf Denktaş and the representative of Turkey [*2498th meeting*]. We have made an effort to evaluate those statements and to comprehend the essence of the conflicting views that were expressed. They reveal once again the anguish and bitterness of a situation which has arisen because the delicate balance of an independent bicommunal federation was unilaterally destroyed 20 years ago and because no serious effort was made to restore the confidence of the Turkish community in the viability of the concept. Thus the proclamation of independence by the Turkish Cypriot community is rooted in the history of intercommunal relations and the acutely felt grievances of the Turkish Cypriots, which have remained unredressed over the years. The Turkish Cypriots felt with deep conviction that their rights under the Constitution of 1960 had been denied to them. At the same time they found themselves excluded from participation in the Government on an equal footing as provided for under the Constitution.

7. In his statement Mr. Denktaş gave details of the injustices which the Turkish Cypriots have suffered since the time when fanatical terrorist groups ensconsed in the Greek Cypriot community unleashed a campaign of violence, intimidation and persecution against them more than two decades ago. These activities tore apart the legislative, executive and judicial fabric of the partnership State which had been envisaged at the time of the independence of Cyprus. The integrity of the premise that the two communities were the co-founders of the new State was destroyed when one community embarked on a course of depriving the other of its status of equality and its legitimate national rights.

8. The concerns expressed repeatedly by the Turkish Cypriot leadership reveal the extent to which the Turkish community was ostracized and isolated from the mainstream of the political life of the country. At the same time the Greek compatriots increasingly monopolized the conduct of the island's external relations and the role of representing it in international forums. The relegation of the Turkish community to second-class citizenship both at home and abroad thus became a reality. In the United Nations as well as in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries the voice of the Turkish community remained muted. The absence of a Turkish Cypriot voice in these forums obscured the reality of the situation in Cyprus and prevented the international community from taking timely action to avert the emergence of a situation which made intervention by a guaranteeing Power inevitable under the 1960 international agreements.

9. I have touched briefly upon these circumstances because without keeping them fully in mind it would not be possible to measure the depth of the despair felt by the Turkish Cypriot community for more than two decades, nor would it be possible to arrive at a correct judgement of the turn of events this week in Cyprus. Only by developing a correct perspective of events would the Security Council be able to promote the re-establishment of an independent, bicommunal, bi-zonal federation of Cyprus, which was the objective of the peace efforts undertaken by the United Nations and to which the two communities had committed themselves in the past.

10. Pakistan has consistently reminded the international community in the past of the fragility of the situation in Cyprus and has emphasized the need for promoting confidence between the two communities which could ensure progress in the intercommunal talks and the advancement of the Secretary-General's initiatives. It is a matter of deep regret that the General Assembly resolutions continued to remain insensitive to these concerns, as a result of which the rift between the two communities widened and the frustration of the Turkish Cypriots deepened.

11. Mr. Denktaş informed the Secretary-General last month of the readiness of the Turkish Cypriot side to resume the intercommunal negotiating process and of the need for a new summit meeting with President Kyprianou under United Nations auspices. The summit meeting was to have identified the genuine intentions of the two sides for a federal solution through direct negotiations. The Turkish Cypriot side once again felt deeply disappointed at the inadequacy of the response to its sincere offer. The Turkish Cypriot community's decision to declare an independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is thus attributable as much to the neglect of their vital interests and concerns by the international community as it is to the failure of the Greek Cypriot leadership to mitigate the misgivings of their Turkish compatriots.

12. Neither the deepening distrust between the two communities nor the proclamation of an independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus need be regarded by us as creating an unbridgeable gulf between the two communities. The hope for a political settlement on the basis of a bicommunal, bi-zonal federal structure has been kept alive in the letter addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Denktaş. In his letter Mr. Denktaş has clearly expressed the hope that negotiations be continued under the auspices of the Secretary-General on the basis of equality and with a view to resolving all outstanding issues.

13. In his statement to the Council yesterday, Mr. Denktaş stated in categorical terms his commitment to stand by the 1977 Denktas-Makarios agreement [*see S/12323, para. 5*], the 1979 Denktaş-Kyprianou agreement [*see S/13369, para. 51*], the 1980 opening statement of the Secretary-General [*S/14100, annex*] and the 1981 United Nations "evaluation" document, all of which constitute the valid and mutually agreed basis for the intercommunal talks. He stated that the door was wide open for the resumption of negotiations with a view to re-establishing a partnership State within a bicommunal, bi-zonal federal framework.

14. It is not too late for the Council to fulfil a constructive and decisive role in resolving the situation in Cyprus. The declaration of an independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus does not amount to an irreversible act of secession. The Turkish Cypriot community is ready to respond to any positive gesture from us. It has expressly reaffirmed its desire for the continuation of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices and for the resumption of negotiations anywhere and at any time. At the same time, the Secretary-General has expressed his readiness to resume his mission of good offices.

15. Let us seize the opportunity before us to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General to continue his good offices and to play the constructive role which awaits him in Cyprus. Let us not make it our goal to adopt a resolution which seeks to condemn the Turkish Cypriot community, whose co-operation is a *sine qua non* for re-establishing the unity of Cyprus. Such a resolution is more likely to exacerbate bad feelings than to heal wounds. It is more likely to encourage the very tendencies it attempts to curb and to aggravate the very situation it seeks to cure.

16. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish first of all to welcome the Foreign Ministers of Cyprus and of Greece to New York, to which they have come in order to participate in the Council's work.

17. The Soviet delegation supported the appeal made by the Republic of Cyprus to the Security Council, and we believe that appeal to be entirely well founded. Since the establishment of the Republic, the Soviet Union has unswervingly and consistently pursued a policy of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State, as well as for its chosen status of non-alignment. From the very moment the question of Cyprus arose, the Soviet Union, on the basis of that position of principle, has vigorously opposed the swallowing up of Cyprus by any country and its partition in any manner whatsoever. Actions aimed at splitting up the Republic of Cyprus are in direct contravention of the basic decisions of the United Nations, including General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted in 1974 and endorsed by the Security Council. The same is stated in Security Council resolution 367 (1975), in which the Council expressed its opposition to any attempt at partition of the island.

18. In the light of this, the Soviet Union cannot but share the profound concern of the international community at the proclamation by the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus of a so-called independent State in the northern part of the island. The events now being considered by the Security Council have the particular feature of having occurred in the part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus which is under foreign military occupation.

19. It is clear that this separatist act can only lead to a further exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and subvert the foundations of and prospects for a just political settlement of the question of Cyprus; there is no doubt that that act should be condemned. There can be no justifying such actions, particularly as they were taken at a time when new initiatives had been put forward for the resumption of the intercommunal talks on the island.

20. The Soviet Union condemns all actions which undermine the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and create a threat to peace and international security. The Soviet Union believes that, in the interest of peace and tranquility in the area, the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community should rescind its decision. Conditions should be created for the resumption of constructive intercommunal negotiations, through the good offices of the Secretary-General and on the basis of the relevant decisions of the United Nations on the question of Cyprus.

21. Another noteworthy fact is that events in Cyprus have been occurring in the context of a general heightening of international tensions resulting from the actions of forces which have ignited hotbeds of conflict in various parts of the world and which are striving to sow distrust and hostility among States and peoples. As was stressed in a TASS statement of yesterday, 17 November, "what has happened in Cyprus is a direct consequence of such actions".

22. In the circumstances, it is extremely important for all States to display the utmost restraint, to avoid any actions which could create additional complications in the situation, and to do nothing which could further heighten tensions in Cyprus and the surrounding regions.

23. In the view of the Soviet delegation, it is the duty of the Security Council to call for the rescission of the decision taken by the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus and to confirm its earlier resolutions on the question of Cyprus, particular those provisions relating to ensuring the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and the inadmissibility of external intervention in its internal affairs. It is also essential for the Council to appeal to

all States concerned to show restraint and to take no action which could lead to any further increase in tension in or around Cyprus.

24. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to stress that the Soviet Union firmly and consistently favours an independent, sovereign, unified Cyprus with its territorial integrity intact, and respect for the policy of non-alignment followed by the Republic of Cyprus. We believe that all points of controversy outstanding between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots can and must be resolved through constructive negotiations on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, without intervention and—even more important—without pressure from outside. The USSR is in favour of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem and supports the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the dismantling of military bases in the island.

25. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

26. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the Council for having afforded my delegation the opportunity of addressing the Council on this item. May I express our appreciation also to Mr. Abdullah Salah of Jordan for his presidency of the Council during the difficult month of October. By the same token, I congratulate you, Sir, a colleague and a friend, on your assumption of the presidency for November and wish you well.

27. As soon as the Government of Sri Lanka learned of the unilateral declaration made on 15 November by the leadership of the Turkish minority group in Cyprus, the Minister for Foreign Affairs issued a statement which I wish to quote:

> "It is with great shock that I have received the news of the declaration of secession and independence by a Turkish minority group calling itself 'The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'. Such a declaration is illegal and totally unacceptable to the international community. There is no doubt that this action has been made possible by the continued presence of foreign forces in that area.
>
> "Sri Lanka has consistently supported the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. Cyprus, like Sri Lanka, is a member of the Commonwealth and a founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement, and under its first President, the late Archbishop Makarios, it made a significant contribution to the growth of the Movement.
>
> "The illegal and unilateral declaration of independence by this group is a regrettable setback to the efforts being made to achieve a peaceful, unified and stable Cyprus through the efforts of the Government of Cyprus, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement.
>
> "Sri Lanka unreservedly condemns this act and will not extend any form of recognition to such an entity."

28. Cyprus has been a preoccupation of the United Nations for nearly 20 years and an even more intimate concern of the Organization after the invasion and continuing occupation by foreign troops of over a third of its territory since July 1974. I need not burden the Council with a narrative of that history except to recall its own resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975), which remain unimplemented except for the revival of the intercommunal talks.

29. The Council is meeting now because of this latest development, the unilateral declaration of independence, an act of secession by the Turkish Cypriot leadership. It was an announcement which, for reasons he has stated, even the Secretary-General has described as a serious development which he learnt of with deep regret.

30. Here it would be relevant to recall that in February 1975, even while intercommunal talks were underway, the Turkish Cypriot leaders proclaimed "The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". In retrospect that was clearly a prelude to their latest action. The Council, by resolution 367 (1975), limited itself to expressing regret over that unilateral decision and affirmed that that decision would not prejudge the final political settlement.

31. Nearly 10 years have elapsed since then. Admittedly the intercommunal talks have made slow progress, for which each side has held the other responsible. Yet one is compelled to ask whether the Turkish Cypriot leadership could have been acting in good faith by making yet another unilateral declaration just as the Secretary-General's Special Representative arrives to prepare for the high-level meeting suggested by Mr. Rauf Denktaş himself, and that too for serious intercommunal negotiations. The Council may have to engage in extensive consultations on whether this illegal act should be regretted, deplored or condemned. What is perhaps more relevant is to ensure that this illegality is vacated. We have in the past supported and will continue to support the good offices of the Secretary-General and a resumption of the intercommunal talks, but that is hardly relevant or possible if this impunity of a unilateral declaration of independence is allowed to stand.

32. My delegation was heartened by the statements made by all those who have spoken so far. All of them, bar one, have lent no support for this self-styled "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". It was even more satisfying to learn that up to yesterday only one State, Turkey, has extended recognition. Member States have reacted with understandable caution. Few Member States could claim the advantage of homogeneity in regard to the ethnic, linguistic, religious or tribal character of their populations or the absence of minorities and the attendant problems. The territorial integrity of many States would be in peril if the right of self-determination applicable in the colonial context was interpreted as a right to secede. the Council must therefore, as in the past, reaffirm the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

33. This phenomenon of unilateral declaration of independence—better known as UDI—is contemporary history. As the representative of Zimbabwe, a member of this Council, could tell us, Mr. Ian Smith took nearly 15 years to discover the futility of a UDI proclaimed by a minority and sustained with foreign military assistance. The leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus would better serve the interests of their people by abandoning the precipitate course on which they have embarked and resuming the path of negotiation and dialogue. Finally, the guaranteeing Powers, including the Governments of Greece and Turkey, have a role and a duty to fulfil the obligations they assumed both under the Treaty of Guarantee[1] and by their commitment to the Charter.

34. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

35. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to express my delegation's satisfaction that you are presiding over this meeting of the Council. Your well-known experience, competence and diplomatic skill undoubtedly guarantee that you will be able to guide its work towards the just results desired by the international community. Through you, Sir, I should like to thank the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to participate in the debate.

36. The unilateral action by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community, on 15 November 1983, in declaring the creation of an "independent State" in the part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus still occupied by foreign military forces has shocked world public opinion and the overwhelming majority of States represented here.

37. As early as 1975 the representatives of that community had taken steps towards the present illegal decision by proclaiming, with equal disdain for the treaties that established the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, the Charter of the United Nations and international law, that part of that Republic would be converted into a purported "Turkish Federated State".

38. For more than two decades, the Republic of Cyprus has been an outstanding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Its first head of State, the late Archbishop Makarios, was in fact one of the architects of the Belgrade Conference in 1961 and a noted spokesman for the ideas of non-alignment which, in so far as Cyprus is concerned, led to the decolonization, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. It was in fact the military undertaking against Cyprus in 1974—whose aftermath of occupation and artificial division of the island continues today—that endangered the independent, sovereign and non-aligned existence of the Republic founded by Makarios.

39. Since then our Movement has unceasingly reiterated its solidarity with the just cause of the Cypriot people, demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops and urged the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities to resolve their differences through sincere intercommunal talks, on an equal footing and aimed at guaranteeing their respective rights in a united, sovereign, independent and non-aligned Cyprus.

40. During our recent stay in Cyprus in March of this year, as members of the Non-Aligned contact group that visited the island at the invitation of President Spyros Kyprianou, we were able to observe the firm resolve of the Cypriot Government to progress towards a negotiated, peaceful solution, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. We heard, moreover, from its own leaders, that that will to negotiate was shared by the Turkish Cypriot community. It was our understanding that the process of negotiations had followed its course, a necessary one however delicate and difficult it might be, starting with the Secretary-General's initiatives, and that his Representative, Mr. Gobbi, was soon to submit concrete proposals to the parties on new steps proposed.

41. The unilateral and illegal act of 15 November—which fits into the tense international situation created by the aggressive interventionist policy of the present United States Government—occurred in the midst of a negotiating process that augured well after the earlier impasse in the intercommunal talks, and its effect, far from opening the way to new talks, as the Turkish Cypriot spokesmen claim, once again creates a stalemate in the situation, making it even more serious given the attempt at secession, *manu militari*, which the Turkish Cypriot leaders, backed by the foreign occupation forces, are trying to impose on us as a *fait accompli*.

42. The persistence of this grave situation cannot be tolerated unless we are to endorse the arbitrariness and illegality of those who have acted outside the framework of law and justice. The Security Council must condemn the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on the intention to secede from the Republic of Cyprus and consider it null and void. Likewise, it must demand the prompt and effective implementation of its resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975), in particular those parts relating to the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

43. All States must respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, and therefore the Council must ask them, as well as the parties concerned, to refrain from any action or attempt to partition the island. Above all it is necessary to prevent the development of a new conflict in the eastern Mediterranean.

44. In the view of my delegation, the members of the international community should clearly express their repudiation of the actions undertaken by the illegal régime established in the occupied zone of Cyprus.

45. The Secretary-General, who has been handling this matter so skilfully, must continue his mission of good offices and his personal action in the quest for a solution to the problem through the intercommunal talks. First of all,

nevertheless, it is necessary for the Security Council to contribute to preventing the consummation of the illegal and unjust act by the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot community and, through determined action, to help preserve the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

46. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Sir, it is fitting that you, the representative of Malta, a European, non-aligned and Mediterranean country, should be presiding over the Council at this time of an exacerbation of tension in the eastern Mediterranean and of a threat to the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We are sure that your knowledge and wisdom and the steadfast adherence of your country to the policy of non-alignment will be of great help to all of us. I should like at this point to recall with deep appreciation the work done by Mr. Abdullah Salah of Jordan, who presided over the Council in October in an impeccably impartial, responsible and wise way.

48. The Republic of Cyprus is an independent and sovereign State, a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and a Member of the United Nations. It is a State that rendered valuable contributions to the development and strengthening of the policy and the movement of non-alignment and of the United Nations as an organization dedicated to the maintenance of peace and security.

49. The Government of the independent, sovereign and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus has once again turned to the Security Council. The Republic of Cyprus is faced with an attempt to dismember it and to legalize such an act in total disregard of the decisions and recommendations of the General Assembly and Security Council and of international law.

50. The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has made the following statement in that regard:

"The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has considered the latest situation created by the unilateral proclamation of independence of a part of Cyprus occupied by the Turkish armed forces since 1974. This act violates most directly the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations and prevents the efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at seeking a peaceful solution to the problem of Cyprus through the talks between the two Cypriot communities. The Presidency has condemned this act as an attempt to legalize the dismembering of an independent and non-aligned country.

"The Presidency has assessed with deep concern that this act leads to the opening of a new hotbed of crisis in the eastern Mediterranean and that, under the conditions of an ever more exacerbated international situation threatening peace in the world, it constitutes yet another additional source of instability and danger to peace and security in that part of the world and beyond.

"Yugoslavia therefore considers this act unacceptable and expects that the United Nations and the Security Council, in whose mandate is the solving of the problem of Cyprus, will undertake urgent action, based on their earlier resolutions, aimed at annulling this unilateral decision. The Presidency also considers it indispensable that new and immediate efforts be undertaken to start negotiations between the two Cypriot communities on an equal footing, in order to achieve a solution acceptable to both parties, with full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, based on the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and on the principles of non-alignment.

"A just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus is possible only on this basis and is in the interest of the people of the Republic of Cyprus, the two Cypriot communities, States and peoples in the region, as well as peace and security.

"To that end, Yugoslavia considers indispensable action by the non-aligned countries aimed at protecting the territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, which is also one of the founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries."

51. The attempt to establish a State in the part of the independent and sovereign Republic of Cyprus under the occupation of the Turkish armed forces is another link in a chain of critical situations in international relations caused by use of force, breach of the decisions and recommendations of the Security Council and General Assembly, aggression and threats to the independence and sovereignty of countries and to peace and security in the world. It is another case of the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a non-aligned country.

52. Concern with the extremely fragile state of peace in the world is widespread. Nevertheless, cases of the use of force and the resultant occupation are being piled upon one another. No matter in which area of the globe a *fait accompli* is forced upon the international community, it is readily used as justification for another one. We must not come to terms with this practice. The consequences of condoning such a development are dangerous to all members of the international community, no matter what their size.

53. The confrontations and exacerbations in international relations are already weighing very heavily upon the United Nations. This is amply reflected in the work of the current thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and of this body. The utmost restraint is required in all situations of conflict and dispute. At the same time, new efforts to resolve the problems through negotiations are indispensable.

54. The unilateral declaration of independence is in contravention of all General Assembly resolutions on the issue, proceeding from resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted at the twenty-ninth session, to the most recent one, 37/253, adopted last May at the resumed thirty-seventh session, as well as the relevant Security Council resolutions.

55. That declaration was made at the moment when the Secretary-General, pursuant to resolution 37/253, was personally engaged in an invaluable effort to launch a dialogue and find a solution through negotiations between the two Cypriot communities. It is damaging the effectiveness and the role of the United Nations and the ability of the Organization to act in this and in similar situations.

56. To legalize the attempted partition of the Republic of Cyprus would lead to a further increase of instability and more threats to peace in the region. In our view, this unilateral act should be met with condemnation. It has no legal validity, and the Security Council should request its authors and supporters to withdraw it. We believe that recognition of the unilateral act by other countries would greatly endanger the possibilities for a negotiated settlement of the question of Cyprus and would lead to further deterioration.

57. The solution of the problem of Cyprus can be based only on the withdrawal of foreign forces and on the cessation of occupation and of foreign interference. The high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 are the basis for the solution of the outstanding questions between the two Cypriot communities.

58. We think it is essential to create conditions for a peaceful, mutually acceptable solution reached through negotiations between the two Cypriot communities on an equal footing and on the basis of the decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly and the principles of the policy of non-alignment. All that has happened since 1974 does not detract from the validity and realism of this position. It is necessary in order to preserve the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

59. In conclusion, we hope that the Security Council will take swift and adequate action to achieve this and that the Secretary-General will obtain renewed support from all parties involved for his further constructive engagement in the search for a negotiated solution.

60. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): First of all, Sir, I should like to offer you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of November. Because of your wisdom and diplomatic skill, you are eminently qualified to guide our deliberations. I should like also to take this opportunity to express my delegation's feelings of great respect for the way in which the representative of Jordan, Mr. Salah, presided over the Council during the month of October.

61. The Netherlands Government deeply deplores the unilateral declaration by the Turkish-Cypriot community of 15 November, purported to establish a Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent State. We reject this decision, which is in clear disregard of successive resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 367 (1975), which was unanimously adopted and which expressed regret at the unilateral decision of 13 February 1975 declaring that a part of the Republic of Cyprus would become a "Federated Turkish State". At the same time the Council called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and urgently requested all States, as well as the parties concerned, to refrain from any action which might prejudice that sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment, as well as from any attempt at partition of the island or its unification with any other country.

62. The least we can do today is to uphold our principles and previous commitments by calling for the withdrawal of the declaration as referred to above, which is legally invalid. All States should respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus and refrain from recognizing the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. In this connection the position of the Netherlands remains clear: the unilateral proclamation of a Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus will not affect the exclusive recognition by the Netherlands of the Republic of Cyprus. We reiterate our unconditional support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic and continue to regard the Government of President Kyprianou as its sole legitimate Government.

63. We have always held the view that direct negotiations between the parties concerned are the only viable way to a peaceful settlement acceptable to both sides in the conflict. We have therefore always strongly supported the intercommunal talks between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriot communities within the framework of the good offices mission of the Secretary-General, entrusted to him by the Security Council and on the basis of the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977 and 19 May 1979.

64. The latest step taken by the Turkish Cypriot authorities can only complicate the already difficult task of reaching a settlement in Cyprus acceptable to the people of both communities. We also recognize that it can only have negative implications for the intercommunal talks. In his statement of 15 November, the Secretary-General has already shown his deep disappointment and concern that the action is bound to affect the situation in Cyprus adversely and will complicate his mission of good offices. His Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi, has just returned to Cyprus to present the latest proposals of the Secretary-General in preparation for a new high-level meeting between the leaders of the two communities.

65. In spite of the present setback we still believe that there can be no alternative to negotiations and to a peaceful dialogue. We therefore call upon the two communities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus. We also call upon all parties to help create favourable

conditions leading to such a just and lasting settlement and to refrain from actions that could exacerbate the situation.

66. Under the present circumstances, when the political tension in Cyprus has again risen, the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) gives us a certain measure of assurance that recent events will not be allowed to lead to acts which may only further exacerbate relations between the two communities. If only for this reason, the international community should reaffirm its continuing support for UNFICYP.

67. However, UNFICYP's presence should never be used as a pretext for not addressing the real issues in Cyprus. Its existence for more than 19 years is ample proof that the need for a solution of the problem is more pressing than ever. Recent events only underscore the necessity of addressing the problems urgently before it is too late. One of those problems is the continued presence of foreign armed forces on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. We call upon all parties to facilitate the early withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic under circumstances that would not endanger the safety of both communities.

68. In view of the close relations of my country with Cyprus and its people, which has endured so many hardships, we will continue our efforts to convince our friends that a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem is possible. After the recent events, a good deal of imagination and courage will be needed to establish the necessary mutual trust without which it will not be possible to reach a comprehensive settlement. We earnestly hope that all leaders involved will exercise the statesmanship required in this regard.

69. The PRESIDENT: The last speaker for this morning is the representative of Cyprus, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

70. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): A number of allegations, misrepresentations and outright falsehoods in the statement of the representative of Turkey and that of Mr. Denktas compel me to exercise the right of reply so as to set the record straight.

71. Allow me at the outset to remind the representative of Turkey that the question of Cyprus is not an intercommunal difference or a constitutional dispute, nor is it a distorted regurgitation of what happened 11 or 20 years ago. The problem before the Council is the escalation of the Turkish aggression against the Republic of Cyprus and the purported creation of an independent State in the part of the territory of Cyprus which is still occupied by foreign forces, which is, in fact, the result of aggression. The problem remains one of invasion, occupation, massive violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of our people and of brazen disregard by Turkey of mandatory Security Council resolutions demanding the withdrawal of its occupation troops from Cyprus, the return of 200,000 refugees to their homes and land and the restoration of human rights in the island.

72. These form the gist of the problem of Cyprus, and it is to these charges of illegalities that the representative of Turkey has an obligation to respond. The accusing finger of the world community is directed straight at Turkey for violating the Charter of the United Nations and for not honouring solemn obligations it undertook under its provisions to respect and to implement Security Council resolutions.

73. It is to these agonizing issues and to world condemnation of the secessionist attempt perpetrated by his Government that the representative of Turkey must respond, for the secessionist action now before the Council could not and did not take place unaided and unabetted, or without Turkey's connivance, approval, outright patronage and instructions.

74. The scenario towards the unilateral declaration of independence was conceived, drafted and directed by the Turkish Government. The strings were pulled by Turkey. Mr. Denktaş moved as he has always done: gracefully, in absolute obedience to the dictates of his masters.

75. To maintain that Turkey did not encourage the purported secession would be absurd and an insult to the intelligence of the members of this lofty body. Turkey has absolute military control of the area by virtue of the presence of 35,000 Turkish troops, 50,000 Turkish settlers and a puppet régime, which was imposed on the backs of the Cypriot people at present living in the occupied areas.

76. Turkey had on many occasions before these illegal actions repeatedly supported, through official statements, the fallacious thesis of Mr. Denktaş as to the so-called right to separate self-determination by the Turkish Cypriot community. Such statements are many, and I do not intend to tax members' patience by quoting them. Suffice it to say that the most recent such statement was made in this country by Mr. Caglayangil only last month.

77. The action taken by Turkey is contrary to the Charter, to international law and to United Nations resolutions; it is an affront to this body, which is seized of the problem of Cyprus, and to the Secretary-General, who, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/253 of May 1983, is personally involved in the search for a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus.

78. Of course, it undermines the talks and the Secretary-General's efforts for a possible high-level meeting between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş—a meeting now revealed to have been hypocritically requested by Mr. Denktaş himself, because, while the Secretary-General was sounding out the parties as to the possibility of convening such a meeting, Mr. Denktaş, in an Ian Smith fashion, proceeded with his 15 November declaration. The illegality of this declaration is obvious: the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is a bogus and illegal entity set up by the Turkish Government in the occupied area. Legally, it has no territory except that area controlled by the Turkish occupation troops, the latter having genocidally uprooted the whole Greek Cypriot population in the area

and implanted settlers from the mainland of Turkey in the homes and on the lands of those expelled.

79. Those being the facts, I ask the representative of Turkey: what self-respecting country can recognize such an illegal entity? Can he deny that the bogus entity which his Government is promoting is the offspring of aggression and of the usurpation of Greek Cypriot properties? We should like to have a clear answer to these charges.

80. But, instead of responding to charges against these illegal actions—which have rightly been universally condemned—the Turkish representative and Mr. Denktaş chose to recite their favourite myth about expulsion and ill-treatment of the Turkish Cypriots from the Government, about the existence of "two peoples" in Cyprus and about the "illegality" of my Government and magnanimously offered prescriptions for a cure full of chemicals with the labels "Ian Smith", "doctrine of *apartheid*" and "bantustanization".

81. Let me assure the worried representative of Turkey that we and the rest of the world have no doubts about the legality of our Government. The recognition by your country, Mr. President, as well as by 156 other Member States and by all international organizations, including the United Nations, and above all the strong legal basis upon which that recognition of my Government is based, offer silencing replies to the fallacious Turkish argument and illustrate Turkey's isolation from the international community. Allow me, however, to add that this is probably the only case in the history of the United Nations where the aggressor, having dealt an inhuman military blow against the victim and having burned its people and forests with napalm bombs, appears before the Security Council, which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, to claim that its victim does not exist.

82. But the Turkish representative also bases his claim for the so-called non-existence of the Government of Cyprus on the Geneva Declaration of July 1974 [*see S/11398*], which makes reference to the existence in Cyprus of two autonomous administrations of the two communities. But the existence of two communities and two administrations does not pre-empt the existence of the Government of Cyprus, either at that time or thereafter, and, indeed, the legality of the existence of the Government of Cyprus has been consistently and exclusively recognized by a host of United Nations resolutions in all international forums, by all international organizations and by all States, with the sole exception, of course, of Turkey.

83. The representative of Turkey alleged that the Turkish Cypriot community was expelled from the Government of the Republic in 1963. However, he mentioned no law, decree or regulation forbidding the Turkish Cypriot ministers or Members of Parliament from exercising their duties. The reason is obvious: there is none. What is more, his assertion is false because the records of the meetings of the Council of Ministers were sent to them long after their withdrawal, evidencing the desire of the Government of Cyprus to see them return to their posts. The withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriot ministers from the Government was part of a well-planned scheme on the part of Ankara designed to force all Turkish Cypriots not to have dealings with their countrymen, so that the insidious policy of segregation pursued by Turkey in Cyprus might succeed. This is borne out by a series of reports of the Secretary-General to the Security Council. Suffice it to quote from a report of the late sagacious U Thant, contained in paragraph 106 of document S/6426 of 10 June 1965:

> "The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adhered to a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separation of the communities as a political goal, it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the merits of an alternative policy. The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots. . . . the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the direct result of the leadership's self-isolation . . . imposed by force on the rank and file."

I especially draw the kind attention of the representative of Pakistan to this quotation.

84. Separation, segregation and division have always been and still are the policy of Turkey in Cyprus. They do not deny it. They offer instead an untenable and ludicrous argument that separation is necessary for the security of the Turkish Cypriot community. Here is an island with 650,000 inhabitants, 80 per cent of whom are Greek Cypriots, 18 per cent Turkish Cypriots and 2 per cent of other ethnic backgrounds. A United Nations peace-keeping force is on its soil, and a proposal has been put forward by the President of the Republic, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, for complete demilitarization and for the establishment of a mixed police force composed of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

85. And yet Turkey still alleges that separation is necessary for the security of the Turkish Cypriot community. One may ask: what about the security of the 82 per cent of the people? Does Turkey expect them to feel secure when a well-equipped army of 35,000 Turkish troops is on the island? If Turkey is to argue about security considerations of the Turkish Cypriots, what about security considerations for all the population, which suffers continuously and is being threatened by the Turkish occupation forces? This, I believe, is another reasonable question to be addressed to Turkey.

86. The Turkish doctrines of neo-*apartheid* and bantustanization in Cyprus go even further: they call for the physical separation of the two communities, as evidenced by the purported unilateral declaration of independence. Even if one is to assume, for argument's sake, that there is more than one people in Cyprus—which is not the case—what is the moral and legal justification for keeping these

people apart? None, I submit, except an anachronistic and discredited policy dictated by Turkey for political considerations, and aimed against the unity of the people and of the country.

87. As to the principle of equality, which was so abused by the Turkish representatives, let me say that we believe that all Cypriots, irrespective of race, colour, creed or ethnic background, are equal, that they are endowed with fundamental rights and that they cannot be deprived of these rights by the State. We have a democratic form of government and we believe and practice equality before the law, giving equal opportunities and expecting equal obligations from our citizenry.

88. We cannot, however, accept numerical equality and the strange and unjust Turkish theory that 18 per cent equals 82 per cent. Such distortion of the principle of equality is contrary to the tenets of democracy and strangulates the democratic process.

89. An inquiry was made by the Turkish side as to where the Turkish Cypriot members of our delegation are. In response I say with deepest regret that due to the separatist and partitionist policy pursued by Turkey and its agents in the occupied areas of Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriots who were members of this delegation were forced to withdraw as a result of intimidations from the same person who raised the question yesterday. We have, however, fond memories of the close and friendly relationship which existed between us in the service of our common country. The people of Cyprus yearn for a return of those days. We also look forward to the day when the barbed wire, the dividing lines and foreign armed forces occupying our country and dividing our people will be no more.

90. We look forward to the day—and we shall struggle for it—when peace, justice, freedom and brotherhood are re-established in Cyprus.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTE

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

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